

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-16

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INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 EB-11 OMB-01 TRSE-00 AEC-11 ACDA-19

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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3771

INFO USMISSION USUN NY

AMEMBASSY DACCA

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 11951

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, IN

SUBJECT: INDIAN POSITION ON 29TH UNGA ISSUES

REF: STATE 196524

1. IN MEETING WITH EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER SWARAN SINGH AUGUST 27, AMBASSADOR TOLD HIM THAT WE ARE DELIGHTED WITH ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK OF AMBASSADOR JAIPAL, AND WE KNOW HE HAD A GOOD DISCUSSION WITH AMBASSADOR SCALI. AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN OBSERVED THAT HE WAS SURE THAT SWARAN SINGH KNEW THAT AMBASSADOR SCALI IS A MEMBER OF THE CABINET AND A MAN OF GREAT REPUTATION IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

2. AMBASSADOR THEN MADE THREE GENERAL POINTS. ONE. INDIA SHOULD TRY TO FIND SOME ISSUE WITH WHICH IT CAN WORK WITH THE US AND WILL PUT A LITTLE LIGHT BETWEEN IT AND THE COMMUNISTS. AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED THE ELIMINATION OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE, ITEM 4. TWO. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT ON ECONOMIC MATTERS NO ONE WAS GETTING ANYWHERE WITH UN SESSION IN WHICH THE GROUP OF
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77 VOTED ON HOW MUCH MONEY THE UNITED STATES WAS GOING TO CON-

TRIBUTE. SWARAN SINGH HAD HIMSELF SEEN THAT INDIA GOT NOTHING FROM THE SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION. THREE. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT ON NUCLEAR MATTERS HE HOPED SWARAN SINGH WOULD KEEP INDIA'S POSITION FLEXIBLE, SO THAT THE TALKS ON PROLIFERATION AND OTHER PROBLEMS WHICH THE SECRETARY HOPED TO HAVE IN OCTOBER WOULD BE FRUITFUL AND CONDUCTED IN AN EASY ATMOSPHERE.

3. SWARAN SINGH ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD HIMSELF TALKED ABOUT THE INDIAN IMAGE AT THE UN WITH ARTHUR GOLDBERG AND GEORGE BUSH. HE HAD SAID THEN AND REPEATED NOW THAT THIS ASSESSMENT WAS NEITHER FACTUALLY CORRECT NOR FAIR. ON SEVERAL MATTERS THE LDCS, THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES, HAPPENED TO FIND THE SOVIET UNION HAD POLICIES SIMILAR TO THEIRS. "WE IN OUR OWN MIND WERE FOLLOWING OUR OWN POSITION" WHICH THE SOVIETS SAPLY SHARED. THE SOVIETS KNOW INDIA IS INDEPENDENT. THEY NEVER CANVASS INDIA TO VOTE WITH THEM. AS HIS SECOND POINT SWARAN SINGH SAID HE HAD HEARD IT SAID THAT US PUBLIC OPINION THOUGHT KRISHNA MENON WAS OVER CRITICAL AND ABRASIVE. BUT KASHMIR KEPT COMINGUP IN THOSE DAYS, 1956-62. WE IN INDIA WERE MORE AFRAID OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL THEN THAN WE ARE NOW. NOW IF WE DON'T SUCCEED IN AN SC DEBATE, WE WALK OUT, AS SWARAN SINGH WALKED OUT ON BHUTTO IN 1971. WE FELT THE UNITED STATES WAS NO TAKING A FAIR POSITION ON KHASHMIR. THIS WAS THE PERIOD OF SEATO, THE BAGHDAD PACT, (CENTO). THE US ATTITUDE IN KASHMIR SEEMED PRO-PAK--AS A RESULT. ALSO IT SEEMED COOL TO US BECAUSE WE DID NOT FOLLOW DULLES ON COMMUNISM AND JOINED THE STRUGGLE TO END COLONIALISM IN AFRICA. KRISHNA MENON EARNED INDIA APPROBATION IN AFRICA. HE HAD HAD AN ANALYSIS OF US-INDIAN POSITIONS AT THE UN MADE. HE FOUND THERE WERE MANY VITAL ISSUES ON WHICH WE AGREE.

4. WITH RESPECT TO AMBASSADOR'S THREE SPECIFIC POINTS: SWARAN SINGH WOULD EXAMINE THE POSSIBILITY OF WORKING TOGETHER ON RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE. ON AID, HE AGREED FULLY THAT MERELY PASSING A RESOLUTION WOULD NOT LOOSEN PURSE STRINGS. INDIA, PAKISTAN, BANGLADESH, NEPAL, SRI LANKA FACR SEVERE PROBLEMS. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD HELP. THE MAIN POINT IS THAT THE OIL-RICH COUNTRIES ARE NOT DOING ANYTHING. THAT IS WHY HE MADE BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN AND IRAQ. THIS HAD GIVEN INDIA BREATHING TIME. NO MORE. ON THE OTHER HAND THERE IS A FELLOW FEELING AMONG THE 77. INDIA WOULD NOT LIKE TO BE OUT CONFIDENTIAL

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OF THAT CIRCLE, OR OF UNCTAD. THEY NEED HELP. GENERALIZED PREFERENCES HAD NOT YIELDED THE RESULTS HOPED FOR. THE LDC'S WILL NOT LOOK TO THE US WITH THE EEC. ON AMBASSADOR'S THIRD POINT. (HE HAD SAID HE HOPED THEY WOULD NOT TALK TOO MUCH ABOUT DISCRIMINATION, AND ACT, RATHER, AS A NUCLEAR POWER, WHICH INDIA IS.) SWARAN SINGH SAID IT IS NOT FOR THE FIRST TIME INDIA IS TALKING ABOUT DISCRIMINATION. INDIA TOOK THIS POSITION EARLY ON IN THE NPT.

- A. WHEN NPT WAS FIRST DISCUSSED, INDIA FELT IT WAS NOT CONTRIBUTING TO DISARMAMENT REALLY.
- B. INDIANS FELT IT BARRED ALL BUT THE 5 FROM DEVELOPMENT.
- C. IT LET THE 5 GO AHEAD WITH ANYTHING.

5. SWARAN SINGH LOOKS FORWARD TO THE DISCUSSIONS WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER. "I WILL NOT FORECLOSE ANY POSITION. BUT I HAVE A SUSPICION THAT SOME EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO PRESSURIZE INDIA ON ITS NUCLEAR PROGRAM FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES." BUT HAD NOT THE US CHANGED ITS STAND ON THIS SUBJECT RECENTLY IN MOSCOW? PERHAPS THERE COULD BE A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION WITH KISSINGER AT THE UN. "ANY ATTEMPT TO PRESSURIZE US WILL BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. THEREFORE DO NOT TAKE STANDS THAT ARE UNNECESSARILY IRRITATING TO US." E.G., WHAT IS THIS PAK BUSINESS ABOUT A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE. WHO HAS NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THIS AREA. RUSSIA IN TASHKENT. CHINA IN SINKIANG. THE US AND UK ON POLARIS. WHAT COULD THIS PROPOSAL BE AIMED AT BUT INDIA? THE 5 HAVE NO PRESENT PLANS TO BASE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THIS AREA. WHO ELSE HAS?

6. FYI. WE HAVE HAD DIFFICULTY IN TRACKING DOWN THE MEA OFFICIALS WHO DO THE HARD WORK ON UN ISSUES TO GO OVER THE NUTS AND BOLTS OF THE UPCOMING UNGA SESSION IN FOLLOWING UP THE AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION. WE WILL NOW BE ABLE TO DO THIS ONLY ON SEPT 17 WHEN THE JOINT SECRETARY RESPONSIBLE RETURNS FROM MOSCOW WHERE HE HAS NOW GONE WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER. MOYNIHAN

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